1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

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CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure

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To understand the social structure of an Indian village it is necessary to examine the various units through which the village community is organized. The basic and primary unit of the society is the elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste and several such divisions constitute an endogamous caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. Only excommunication or a change of religion can alter the position of the individual in any such social units. On the other hand, every family belongs to the community with whom it shares a settlement site, be it a village or a hamlet attached to a village. In socio-religious affairs, control of the individual is threefold—that of his family, his village and his caste. Often it is only the independent, endogamous division of the caste which takes cognizance of offences and penalizes erring members, and not the caste as a whole. On the other hand, very serious cases or matters concerning more than one village may be heard and decided by a larger judicial organ, comprising members of all the constituent villages. The structure and organization of the family, as well as the criterion of status differentiation in the community, can best be described in a separate chapter; here we shall examine the division of the community into castes, and follow it up by an analysis of the internal organization of the village with special reference to authority and the machinery regulating the administration of justice in the village.

1. CASTE IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct sections in the population of Shamirpet. Although long residence and close

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association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

1: Dube E-6 (1981-82) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims

to the shrine led by Madiga drum beaters. The Kummari burns incense, and sacrifices on behalf of the village the goats and sheep contributed by the Gollas. The animals are killed by the Sakali and the Mangali, but their heads and forelimbs are offered to the goddess by the Kummari. This is followed by sacrifices on behalf of families who, in fulfilment of a promise or in anticipation of a favour from the goddess, have brought a goat, sheep or fowl to be sacrificed. At this time some people become possessed by the goddess and go into a trance. Late in the evening the people return home and have a feast of rice, meat and other delicacies. 796

Urs of Jalal Miyan. Village Muslims have a tradition for holding semi-religious fairs in honour of holy persons who have had some association with their locality and who have given proof of their supernatural powers by doing some minor miracles. Every winter the Muslims of Shamirpet arrange a fair near the tomb of Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine. On the day of the fair a green cloth is spread on the tomb and green flags are hoisted near it. Shopkeepers from Shamirpet and nearby villages set up their shops on the open ground nearby. When people assemble there in the afternoon, incense is burnt near the tomb and flowers and food are offered to Jalal Miyan. The Mulla reads from the Muslim scriptures. If possible Muslim singers are invited from the city to sing religious songs. On this day also some persons are possessed. People having difficulties or some pressing problems seek remedies and solutions from those who are possessed by the spirit of Jalal Miyan. The fair sometimes includes a programme of country sports, acrobatic feats, singing by young men of the village, and even dramatic performances. Although it is primarily a Muslim fair, Hindus attend it in large numbers.

Analysis of this summary survey of the religious year in the community reveals that the Hindus and the Muslims have two practically independent ritual systems, which have very few points of contact. Muslims participate in the common village ritual, but they do not actually perform any worship. However, most of them share with the Hindus the general belief-pattern associated with these cults. On a social basis, the Muslims join in the Dasara procession of the Hindus; the latter join in the Muslims' Moharram procession. The two groups participate almost equally in Jalal Miyan's fair; but the Hindus do so not for a religious motive, but 796 563

796 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer
563 examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice
796 born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are
564 observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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561 The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

137 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest
132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being
563 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair
312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse
[496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses
133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last
361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns control-
311 ling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of
[342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.